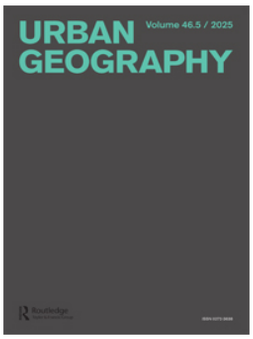

Urban Geography

ISSN: 0272-3638 (Print) 1938-2847 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rurb20

Temporalizing “justice” in urban regeneration: thinking with Lockleaze

Ihnji Jon

To cite this article: Ihnji Jon (26 Jun 2025): Temporalizing “justice” in urban regeneration: thinking with Lockleaze, Urban Geography, DOI: 10.1080/02723638.2025.2517872

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2025.2517872

Published online: 26 Jun 2025.

URBAN GEOGRAPHY
https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2025.2517872

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Temporalizing "justice" in urban regeneration: thinking with Lockleaze

Ihnji Jon

School of Geography and Planning, Cardiff University, Cardiff, UK

ABSTRACT

In recent years, municipal governments in the UK have come under increasing pressure to address the county's housing crisis by providing affordable housing. In response, they have adopted the supposedly environmentally and socially progressive solution of "densification". Against this backdrop, the paper focuses on the case of Lockleaze, a north Bristol suburb targeted for "affordable housing" developments. Here, two existing scholarly angles are relevant to framing the spatial injustices involved. First, a distributive justice angle frames the property-led regeneration as displacement, with the higher rents arising from new capital investments likely to price out existing residents. Second, an epistemic justice angle pays greater attention to how modes of valuation are being homogenized – e.g. how dominant policy dialogs recognize land only as a quantifiable market commodity, disregarding other modes of valuation inseparable from a situated context. Moving beyond these two, transitionalist pragmatism understands "justice" as a moving stream of provisional human practices towards more ethical living, allowing us to witness the moral dilemmas that acting subjects face in their struggle for a better future. Through a qualitative research approach, the paper demonstrates how thinking with an empirical case helps us temporalize justice as a lively situation in practice.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 17 October 2024
Accepted 3 June 2025

KEYWORDS
Urban regeneration; social justice; transitionalist pragmatism; housing

Introduction

In March 2024, 795 signatories to a change.org petition called for the reopening of Concorde Way, a cycle/pedestrian path leading to the community orchard in Lockleaze, a northern suburb of Bristol (5 km from the city center). This path is the central passage cutting across Bonnington Walk, a site of nature conservation interest (SNCI), connecting it to the adjacent footpaths frequented by commuters, children walking to and from school, and residents seeking a leisurely stroll. The following month marked the third anniversary of its closure, disabling public access to the area and the community orchard located within (Figures 1 and 2). What was supposed to be a six-month temporary closure became an indeterminate delay when a new development of 185 modular homes faltered due to technical defects discovered in the building process.

CONTACT Ihnji Jon joni@cardiff.ac.uk
This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

Figure 1. Lockleaze Community Orchard (temporarily re-opened as a result of the protest).

Underlying what seems to be a relatively benign, everyday conflict – between residents wishing to reclaim their access to green space and a developer beset by self-inflicted construction problems – is a broader set of issues. The story of Lockleaze, once described as a deprived area experiencing environmental injustice due to the preponderance of waste-sorting facilities and illegal dumping sites (Bell, 2008), took an unexpected turn when the city council designated the area a major site for affordable housing developments. Confronted with a housing unaffordability crisis, Bristol City Council has promised to build 2,000 new homes, with Lockleaze set to host 1,000 of these (approximately 700 units are currently under construction).

While a decade ago "environmental injustice" in Lockleaze would have been taken to mean "unequal and unjust burdens faced by deprived communities in relation to waste collection services" (Bell & Sweeting, 2013), today the area faces a new challenge: will residents get to enjoy the nicer things coming to the area as their rent rises in line with renewed development interest? A skeptical eye may view this phenomenon as merely a front for more property development and market expansion, the ultimate outcome of which is further marginalization of the already marginalized. A less skeptical eye, however, might interpret these new developments as a justifiable – even realistic – means of attracting more resources to a neighborhood that would otherwise continue to suffer from lack of investment. Rather than passing an either/or judgement, the aim of this paper is to temporalize justice as an ongoing process, thereby avoiding the trap of viewing "justice" as an abstract, ahistorical object predetermined by scholarly

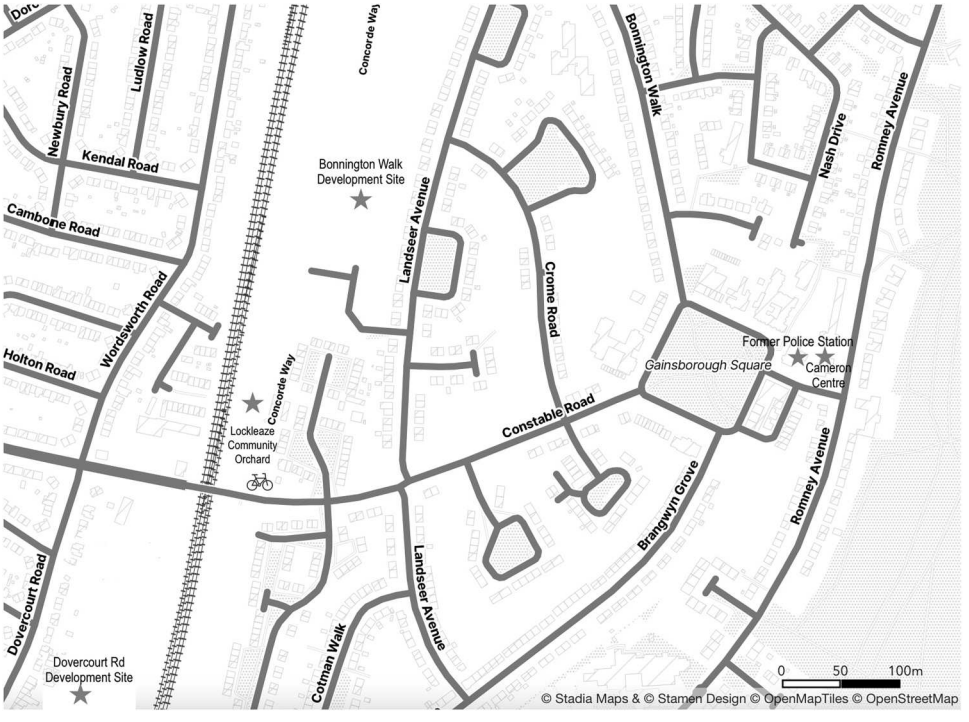

Figure 2. A map of Lockleaze, highlighting the aforementioned sites. Source: ©Stadia Maps and the author's appropriation of data.

abstractions (Lake, 2016). In this, I am inspired by pragmatist philosopher Erin Manning (2016), who asks: "How to write of the middling experience in a way that situates us as participants, not leaders of action?" (p. 48)

Existing geographical scholarship on urban regeneration has made a substantial contribution to our understanding of injustice as a materially consequential phenomenon (Atkinson, 2015; Brickell et al., 2017; Lees, 2014; Newman & Wyly, 2006). At the same time, as Blomley (2020) points out, the "liveliness" of the property's territoriality (e.g. property as a relational, "socio-legal technology that organizes the multiple relations that structure the use, occupation, possession, and imagining of land"; p. 41) opens up a debate on whether "land justice" paradigms can move beyond a zero-sum logic of space (see also Ghertner & Lake, 2021). While human geography's turn to epistemic, recognition, and procedural justice has been well-developed (Allen, 2008; Barnett, 2018; Lake, 1996), the existing works have yet to substantiate how situated social actors' operationalization of justice evolves in interaction with ever-changing, ever-emergent, material problems and socioenvironmental surrounds. The purpose of this paper is to highlight such temporal aspects of justice in three specific ways: (1) recognizing the role of "lively" more-than-human surrounds in the political, as they engender material problems (e.g. degrading building conditions) that influence people's views, desires, and what they see as socially purposeful; (2) an understanding that problematic situations (encompassing the socioeconomic and political climate of the problem's context) evolve and change in unexpected directions, the implications of which is to consider "justice" as

a stream of provisional, fallible, and continually unfolding human practices; (3) taking seriously of the flow of time as having material consequences in a specific time and place, in which "inertia" and "delay" can be harnessed as a political strategy in negotiating the conditions of urban development and regeneration. By switching the perspective from objectifying (in)justice to reviving its temporal moveability, "time" becomes a resource through which different actors can delay unwanted landscape changes to their advantage. Such effect of temporal strategies can be used in different ways, by both opponents and proponents of a particular development project (e.g. manifesting, obstructing, or regulating temporary usages of the space that the given land affords; see also Blomley, 2016; O'Callaghan, 2024; Wright & Herman, 2018).

Distributive and epistemic injustice: learning from existing works

Urban regeneration scholars on social justice are primarily concerned with displacement, seeing injustice as material loss of residence disproportionately experienced by poor and marginalized groups (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020). Atkinson (2015), Brickell et al. (2017), and Zhang (2018) document affective experiences of being un-homed, such as the gradually developing feelings of alienation, sense of loss, and defamiliarization in the places where the subjects call "home". The emergent innovative approaches to displacement studies position "eviction" not only as a site of brutal violence and dispossession but also as a site of care, resistance and subversion (Barbero, 2015; Brickell, 2014).

Two key insights can be drawn regarding the spatiality of displacement influencing the future course of political strategies. First, scholars highlight the importance of coalition movements fighting against the commodification of housing as a common cause, enlarging the concerned subjects beyond those who are immediately subject to displacement and forced eviction. This vein of thought focuses on the unequal distributional consequences of housing provisions under market hegemony, in which a housing unit is abstracted as an object of speculative investment (Vasudevan, 2015). Second, noting the materialities situated in a specific time and place, the authors furnish details on how displacement or risk of displacement is differently experienced depending on the subject's embodied identities and situational circumstances (Baxter & Brickell, 2014; Gorman-Murray et al., 2014). This emphasis on differentiated experiences points to the importance of recognition and epistemic injustice, where policies and regulations continue to prescribe normative spaces of "home" in ways that exclude those who do not fit an ideal model (Brickell et al., 2017).

Despite their differences in analytical focus, both insights advocate for "the right to dwell" or "the right to choose to stay" (Imbroscio, 2004; Kohn, 2016), as a normative ideal on the basis of which all purposeful interventions – policy, regulation, political movements and campaigns – must be designed against any form of forced eviction. Injustice, in this context, is gauged depending on to what extent this ideal was able to be upheld – which is an exogenous criterion that could be derived independent from a particular reality on the ground.

Without disregarding the value of existing ideals, what I hope to address by temporalizing justice is to understand "what's just" as a moving subject practiced by those who share problematic situations. Here, what is conceived as justice does not entail an a priori

foundational claim; it is actively constructed by subjects implicated in the situation (Lake, 2016). The contemporary scholarship on displacement discusses the temporal dimension of gentrification by a way of describing "experiential process of un-homing" (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020, p. 498). As Elliott-Cooper et al. (2020) put it:

> What appears particularly important is that displacement is never a one-off event but a series of attritional micro-events that unfold over time, generating different emotions and mental states for those affected: anxiety, hope, confusion, fear, dislocation, loss, anticipation, dread and so on. (p. 502)

In lively scenes of urban regeneration in practice, however, one may encounter temporally moveable interests and positionalities of which moral character is difficult to be adjudicated in a one-time snapshot.

If we are to take time seriously in raising questions about socio-spatial justice in urban regeneration, we should not only pay attention to how those being un-homed differently experience and contest the conditions of subjection, but also how those who are implicated in the process of addressing urban regeneration challenges justify and make sense of their positionality even in the knowledge of its moral limitations. As this paper demonstrates, these justifications – or the perceived "justness" of actions being taken – are made in the context of specific material problems and concerns, of which temporal character plays an active role in conditioning the trajectory of how an urban regeneration scenario unfolds in practice.

Before elaborating on the conceptual grounds on which this paper temporalizes justice, I would like to briefly recapitulate what I would term a "pluralistic" model of epistemic justice. It builds on Miranda Fricker (2007)'s hermeneutic injustice, substantiated by geographers' engagement with contingent, lively materialities and problematic situations.

In her explanation of "hermeneutic injustice", Miranda Fricker (2007) begins with a quote from Nancy Hartsock's historical materialist feminist standpoint theory: "The dominated live in a world structured by others for their purposes—purposes that at the very least are not our own and that are in various degrees inimical to our development and even existence". These words capture just how crucial it is to pay attention to hermeneutic injustices in which "the powerful have an unfair advantage in structuring collective social understandings" (p. 147). Such conditions are intertwined with material and ontological questions, as those with material power are likely to wield it to their advantage, so influencing the practices by which social meanings are generated (e.g. journalism).

"Hermeneutic injustice" is one of two kinds of epistemic injustice conceptualized by Fricker (2007). The other is "testimonial injustice", which occurs when a speaker's capacity as a knower is undermined by the hearer's prejudice, affording the speaker less credibility than would otherwise be the case. It is the kind of injustice that "a speaker suffers in receiving deflated credibility from the hearer owing to identity prejudice on the hearer's part, as in the case where the police don't believe someone because he is black" (p. 4). Hermeneutic injustice, by contrast, describes situations whereby some social groups find it difficult to have their experiences accepted as part of the socially recognized – "legitimate" – knowledge pool. This stems from "a gap in collective hermeneutical resources—a gap, that is, in our shared tools of social interpretation—where it is

no accident that the cognitive disadvantage created by this gap impinges unequally on different social groups" (p. 6). Hermeneutically marginalized groups, such as women in the 1960s who experienced sexual harassment but lacked the vocabulary to effectively communicate what they were collectively experiencing, are disadvantaged because "they participate unequally in the practices through which social meanings are generated" (p. 6).

In this political project of pursuing epistemic justice through questioning mainstream value paradigms, the contribution of geography is critical. This is because the practical exigencies of problematic situations prompt new analyses regarding whose knowledge, claim-makings and justifications are being prioritized over others (Lake, 2021). For instance, Blomley (2016, 2020)'s "territories of property" highlights the historically contingent manner in which landed properties are governed, undergirded by whichever epistemologies of land are currently upheld in the mainstream (see also Barker, 2018). Blomley (2016) points out that what appears as "natural" in individuated property is rather a recent social reinvention, assisted by the technological advancements in land survey techniques. While the pre-modern court of survey was "a collective enterprise that entailed the itemization of property relations and valued assets within a particular location", the modern surveying mechanism only involves a solitary expert equipped with advanced geometry and performance cartography (Blomley, 2016, p. 600).

The idea of property as a "relational technology" – constantly being reshaped by how human societies and our collective culture perceive and interact with the materiality of territories – substantiates an argument that there are different shades and textures of how landed properties are governed today. The examples such as "public accommodation" laws, the "right to roam", or aboriginal titles evoke the fact that "the territory of property … is not simply a space of absolute exclusion. It may also serve as a space of relative inclusion" (Blomley, 2016, p. 598). Further, territory is more than a product of social construction: territoriality is both a site of facticity (e.g. the entropic processes of land and its ecology) and a stage of habitual social performance (e.g. neighborly relations) that together write the script of how property acts in practice – which changes and evolves over time.

Such on-going politics stemming from plural interests in land and its variety of affordances (Li, 2014) remains incomplete, always in the midst of disrupting the existing territorial boundaries of property. The performativity of spatiality in a specific time and place can be harnessed in ways that de-naturalize the borders of inclusion/exclusion, as well as why certain appearances or uses of land are deemed worthy (of societal care) while others are not (O'Callaghan, 2024).

In temporalizing justice, this argument is useful as it points to how addressing the problematic situation in urban regeneration – e.g. commodification of land and housing – has to be context-specific in practice. Since the "liveliness" of territory elicits how social relations and values are contingent upon situated materialities, it allows periodic decoupling between the market logics of privatization and what works for shared purposes even under the current operations of property regimes (Ghertner & Lake, 2021). What would it mean to operationalize this possibility from the perspective of a situated social actant, even in the knowledge of how their initiatives may not necessarily disrupt – or remain complicit in – the continuing processes of marketization?

Taking "time" seriously: temporal consciousness in transitionalist pragmatism

Geographers writing on epistemic injustice hence have emphasized the importance of attending to the ontological expansiveness of plural rationalities and justifications that defy preconceived conceptualizations as well as the axiomatic assumptions undergirding them (Lake, 2024). Inspired by transitionalist pragmatists, this paper explores what happens to such analyses once we take "time" seriously (Koopman, 2009; Livingston, 2001). By this I mean reflecting on "justice" as a stream of unfolding human practices aimed at achieving more just situations, where the final moral outcome is yet to be determined. Adjudication on what is or is not just differs significantly depending on who we ask and when we ask them, as such situations evolve in unexpected directions over time. Thus, Koopman (2009) argues that to take time seriously is to acknowledge how we act *in the middle* of a continually unfolding practice geared towards building a better future:

> At the center of the meliorist mood in transitionalist perspective is a view of every human accomplishment—from our epistemic accomplishments we refer to as 'truths' to our moral accomplishments of 'goods' and 'rights' to our political accomplishments of 'justice'—as achievement that develops in a field of practice whose form is temporal and whose contents are historical. (p. 33)

While critical scholarship has frequently treated meliorism as being excessively rationalist or instrumentalist, Koopman's argument is supported by the temporal reality James and Dewey have substantiated in their work: that our mind is always undergoing a process of change, be it a more inclusive hermeneutical lacuna or an improved social understanding of problematic situations. The political implication of this philosophical insight is that one should consider "ethics" as a process of "perfecting", rather than an atemporal, ahistorical set of truths that are "philosophically unassailable" (p. 102). This temporal consciousness sets transitionalist pragmatists' politics apart from Rawlsian demonstrations of necessity (abstract utopianism), as well as a Zizekian withdrawal from the real world (purely negative criticism; abstract dystopianism).

Having chosen to focus on how our ethical life unfolds under conditions of contingency and uncertainty, it is worthwhile analyzing "justice" as it appears in our constant movement towards a better, more inclusive, practice. This is regardless of how imperfect or unsatisfactory our current efforts may seem relative to our pre-existing ideals and aspirations. Justice is not an outcome to be achieved once and for all, but rather a continually unfolding destination toward which to aim (Lake, 2017). Success and failure are not calibrated with respect to achieving (or not) a predetermined outcome but whether we are continuing to move in the right direction. As Koopman (2009, p. 140) puts it:

> Moral melioration is an achievement that occurs in the form of time and is realized through actual historical specifics. We start from where we are and develop the resources within our situation in order to improve it. This does not solve all our problems once and for all. But it does improve the situation, open up new problems, and enable us to progressively struggle for a better world.

Before elaborating on how this temporal consciousness in our ethical pursuits is useful for reinterpreting "justice" in urban regeneration, it is worthwhile summarizing how I as a writer viewed the objective conditions in Lockleaze – learning from the existing academic

dialogs on distributive and epistemic justice. I do this in order to highlight the differences between what I initially speculated in theory and what I eventually found in practice.

Methodological considerations

In "Waste collection as an environmental justice issue: a case study of a neighborhood in Bristol, UK", Bell and Sweeting (2013) describe the various challenges the Lockleaze neighborhood faced in late 2000s. Amid a context of "income deprivation, employment deprivation, health deprivation, disability, education, skills deprivation, barriers to housing and services, living environment and crime" (p. 208), the government's policy of reducing garden waste (and promoting green consumerism) became a financial burden to many Lockleaze residents, exhibiting the downside of responsibilization (see Cruikshank, 1999):

> the burden of waste management was falling on the community … there may be more need for waste collection in deprived areas because often more people live in each household, because there is a greater use of cheaper and more heavily packaged food, because household items may be of inferior quality and, therefore, not last as long and because poorer people are less likely to have a car with which to dispose of items themselves. (p. 205)

I became curious as to what had happened in the decade since, especially given the development frenzy noticeable in Bristol since the Covid-19 pandemic. I had been told a lot of Londoners were looking for a greener, quieter city not too far from their jobs, and that Bristol ticked a lot of boxes for young families whose income level was higher than the average Bristolian – thereby driving up rents in the city. Interestingly, Bristol City Council (BCC) had designated Lockleaze a key site for affordable housing developments.

Between February and July 2024, I volunteered for various activities and community events organized by a neighborhood charity, while monitoring news coverage and social media postings/comments on Lockleaze, new housing developments, and the north Bristol area in general. As a result, this study is primarily informed by four types of data: (1) policy documents (planning applications, policy statements); (2) secondary data and gray literature (newspaper articles, social media postings, and public comments made by 185 individuals and three non-profit/civic organizations); (3) the demographic data of an area where approximately 700 new housing units are currently under construction; and (4) conversations and interactions between the author and 32 residents of Lockleaze and adjacent north Bristol neighborhoods.

In an effort to bring the story of Lockleaze into conversation with the literature on social injustice, I adopted an iterative approach of going back-and-forth between theory on the one hand and what I was witnessing on-site during my note-taking on the other. This entailed a process best described by Erin Manning (2016) as "close reading". Manning points out that research creation, or writing as an act, involves the author engaging with a variety of narratives bearing "hypothetical sympathy". In other words, it involves asking yourself what it *feels* like to believe in someone else's theories, thereby unpacking the operating logic driving the rationalization and justification of that person's arguments. In Manning's own words, this speculative pragmatism means:

> taking the work's affirmation, its urge of appetition, at face value, asking what thought-feeling does in this instance, and how it does it … It is about balancing several books,

> several passages, several ideas, or several textures, at the edge of the desk, on the floor of the studio, wondering how else they might come together, and what else, together, they might do. (Manning, 2016, p. 39)

A similar approach applies to the perspectives I encountered on-site. When listening to the practical concerns shared by residents, as well as pondering how these everyday experiences might inform "where they stand" vis-à-vis regeneration, I attempted to focus on how dynamic on-the-ground empirics might interact with – or even escape – established scholarly accounts on gentrification and social injustice. This required constant readjustment and questioning. How might the existing scholarship interpret a given situation, and how relevant or adequate would its explanations be to this specific context? If it turns out that existing theories are missing something, or that Lockleaze's reality evades *a priori* framings, then what are the discrepancies revealed and why is it worth mentioning them? In speculative pragmatism, the "writer–keyboard–book" ecology is comparable to that of dancing or painting as a creation process: "more dynamic than method, open to the shift caused by repetition, engaged by the ways in which bodies change, environments are modulated and modulating" (Manning, 2016, p. 38).

The story of Lockleaze: thinking with distributive and epistemic injustice

North Bristol's Lockleaze area is one of four sites (in the whole of Bristol) targeted for the building of more affordable housing units. There are currently nine projects in close proximity to Gainsborough Square (considered by residents to be the center of the Lockleaze neighborhood), with a total of 742 new units presently underway: 250 Market Rate (34%), 59 Affordable Home Ownership (8%), 153 Shared Ownership (20%), and 280 Social Rent units (38%).

Affordable housing is a critical issue in the Lockleaze area, where 26% of residents live in social housing and 21% rely on the private rental market.[1] While most of the new developments include housing units that pass the "affordable housing" criteria (e.g. units subject to social rent, shared home-ownership, or other government-assisted home-ownership schemes such as "First Homes"), many residents are concerned by the heavy reliance on private developers (whose developments are expanding into several unoccupied brownfield sites in the area), and the fact that even units categorized as "affordable" are not affordable to lower-income groups (Connett 22 Apr. 2021). The 2021 arrival of Trinity Academy – a popular, "elite" secondary school that attracts pupils from "outer priority area" (i.e. more affluent adjacent neighborhoods such as Horfield and St Andrews) – has further underlined that the target beneficiaries of the new land developments lie beyond the immediate neighborhood.

Several controversies have come to the fore under these shared conditions of rapid neighborhood change. In the case of the previously mentioned Bonnington Walk development, 185 modular housing units were set to be built on what had previously been an SNCI. According to a resident, "nobody [in the neighborhood] wanted" the planned construction, as the 6.29 hectares of green space (including a no-build zone) is home to the Lockleaze Community Orchard, which dates back to 2015 when Bristol became the UK's first-ever "European Green Capital". In 2020, BCC approved the new housing development, with a target completion date in 2022. In January 2023, however, foundational

problems were found in the already-built modular home structures, necessitating that they be dismantled and construction started from scratch. Due to financial challenges faced by the developer, this is yet to be fully resolved – as of July 2024, the ground is littered with defective buildings and the Traffic Regulation Orders closing the walking/cycle path that cuts across the site – linking the neighborhood with important local destinations (Abbeywood Shopping Centre, University of West England, Filton Abbey Road train station) – have been extended indefinitely.

If a distributive justice angle were to be applied, it would mainly focus on the ownership and use of land – that is, how Bonnington Walk is the site of proposed new housing units that will be individually owned for private use. As a result, community members will be deprived of green space and the opportunity to cultivate food gardens. Here, what is unjust is the fact that individual property owners will have exclusive rights to use the site as they wish, at an immediate loss to other local residents. In other words, the future property owners have won, while the current community members have lost. An ideal scenario from this angle would be to either leave the land as-is (i.e. no development), or configure new ways of housing development that prioritize the needs of those who are currently at risk of being priced out.

An epistemic justice angle, on the other hand, would focus on how one particular episteme of seeing land as an abstracted commodity – which holds guaranteed future (capacity to generate) monetary value – dominates mainstream societal debates on the housing crisis. In other words, how "timeless" ways of knowing what land is impinge on an individual's right and capacity to judge values in a specific time and place. The initial consultation process for the Bonnington Walk development (back in 2020) was controversial in itself, with residents opposing the perceived prioritization of land commodification over the site's ecological value and situated relationships. What is unjust from this perspective is that by valuing land purely in terms of individuated properties, Lockleaze's identity – which relies heavily on tight-knit neighborly relations and a shared appreciation of more-than-human surrounds – is threatened.

Consider also the destinies of "meanwhile occupiers" in previously "vacant" land and properties in Lockleaze (Figure 3). While Bristol is known for allowing "meanwhile" spaces to be occupied by those proposing temporary usages, "permanent" occupation is only considered viable if it generates new revenue streams for the city. As a result, those engaged in what are framed as "transitory" occupancies are directly affected by the regeneration plans: they must materially disappear. For instance, the Dovercourt Road depot (approximately half-a-mile away from Gainsborough Square) was home to around 100 mobile home residents who parked up their vehicles and formed a community, sharing resources and information. On 9 October 2023, the police and council-appointed bailiffs finalized their eviction, with BCC aiming to build 140 new housing units – 30% of which are allocated to affordable housing – on the site (Cork, 10 Oct 2023). There was no pre-application process and the council was accused of neglecting local resident objections (Donoghue, 25 Jul 2022).

Another group facing an uncertain future are the "property guardians" granted temporary permission by property management company Ad Hoc to live in Gainsborough Square's former police station. The property guardians are "meanwhile occupiers" who pay a reduced rate in return for "guarding" the site, which is immediately adjacent to the Cameron Centre (a community library, kitchen and rentable hall for community-led

Figure 3. Roadside Travellers' homes in Lockleaze.

events; Figure 4). In 2021, the council put forward a plan to demolish both the former police station and the Cameron Centre in order to make way for 50 new flats (Shimell, 25 May 2021). This, of course, requires the eviction of the property guardians, most of whom are lower-income residents who cannot find affordable housing at market rates. As such, many of them would likely be left at the mercy of Home Choice Bristol (a government scheme aimed at finding people affordable housing rentals in council-owned or housing association-operated units). In Lockleaze (as of June 2024), the waiting time for a unit is approximately 95 weeks, with 3,898 applicants submitting contending "bids" (i.e. social housing applications) for just 11 properties.[2]

Here, executing the politics of distributive justice would mainly rest on protecting "the right to choose to stay": the mobile homes should have the right to exist wherever they choose, and the property guardians should have the right to remain where they are. What is unjust here is the material outcome of loss, specifically for the mobile home residents and property guardians who must vacate the site in order for the regeneration plans to proceed. The new social housing units, although owned by the council, are not targeted at those with a very low income or without a consistent income flow.

Epistemic injustice, on the other hand, would argue that the imposition of a particular mode of valuation – in this case, land as a generator of monetary revenue streams – has differentiated effects depending on an individual's economic and social circumstances (Ferreri et al., 2017). For "meanwhile occupiers", the land concerned furnishes a material basis upon which to construct notions of home and life-making, however temporary this may be. Thus, their situated relationship with the land, along with the resulting epistemes

Figure 4. Cameron Centre and the adjacent former police station.

of "knowing" the land, is set to be ruptured by the predominant ideology of abstracting (any) land as a commodifiable resource. What is unjust here is that the reigning social perception (i.e. hermeneutical lacuna) of "what land is" or "what home is" systematically marginalizes the voices of those who attach their own priorities and value hierarchies to meanings of land and home.

"Justice" as a stream of imperfect human practices: thinking with Lockleaze

Both the distributive and epistemic justice angles provide important knowledge concerning what (in)justice might entail in urban regeneration scenarios. Drawing on transitionalist pragmatism, however, if we regard "justice" as a stream of provisional human practices aimed at ameliorating present unjust conditions, we become witness to a variety of temporally-situated experiences that cannot be reduced to predetermined morality (i.e. atemporal abstraction). Here, I focus on how "injustice" is perceived by different social actors on the ground, as well as the processes they engage in their efforts towards achieving a more just situation.

Uneven development under austerity

Resident A: [tearing up] What I am really proud of is that we made the Trinity Academy happen here. My child is now attending the school and benefits from its

music speciality programs. … Lockleaze, and our children, deserve the best, not just in Bristol, but also in the rest of the country and beyond.

Resident B: As you see, there is no single visibly working pub or café in the neighborhood. There's no place to just hang out. We have 5,000 people living here. There were some attempts, like this one café that popped up years ago, but it had to close because they didn't make enough money. Nicer things are happening in other nearby [more affluent] villages, like the Cheswick Village, but not here. The new Boston Tea Party [local chain coffee shop] also ended up in Cheswick.

Resident C: I'm not against densification. We need more families, more footfall. There are a lot of elderly people here with three-bedroom houses and large gardens, and they want to downsize. … We do have space here, and we need more people for the local trades to stay here and survive.

Resident D: The Gainsborough Square, what can I say? It used to be pretty rough, like knife fights, and so on, you wouldn't have wanted to walk around here. After the regeneration of the Community Hub [which includes new housing units above the Hub] about ten years ago, I think things have changed for the better.

From the perspectives of the residents quoted above, what is unjust is the historical disinvestment under austerity (MacLeavy, 2024). As noted above, Lockleaze's status as a council-owned social housing estate and its lack of economic resources for young people has led to the area being stigmatized for decades (Lockleaze Neighborhood Trust, 2019).[3] The "derelictness" of Lockleaze was sensationalized by the media in 2019 when a closed-down pub in Gainsborough Square was set on fire (Postans, 18 May 2022). The council ended up purchasing the site, which is now being developed into a council-led housing site (47 units composed of 37 social rent, 10 shared ownership).

Given this backdrop, some residents view the new wave of attention as a sign of positive change. While what defines "derelictness" is undoubtedly a product of temporary social convention and shared perception, it is nevertheless clear that residents want their community to have "nicer things" – in other words, what mainstream society sees as desirable and worthwhile. This was particularly evident in some residents' avid advocacy for Trinity Academy (an "elite" secondary school) to be located in Lockleaze. Despite the fact that the school will likely attract outsiders and external land market interests, the possibility of sending their children to a better, well-resourced school – "the best that they deserve" – renders it a risk worth taking.

The key issue here is whether residents have the power to actively (re)negotiate the terms and conditions of the proposed developments according to their own priorities – that is, what kind of land development do they want, to what extent, and at what cost? Thus, addressing what is "unjust" about the situation is not necessarily about taking a pro-development or anti-development side. Rather, it entails a political debate on how to intervene in a manner that makes a tangible difference to particular people in particular ways.

The housing crisis and policy mediations

In response to the rapid introduction of new housing developments, local housing activists advocated for the Local Lettings Policy (LLP) ensuring applicants with a prior

connection to Lockleaze would be prioritized for new social rent housing units (38% out of the total being built; 280 out of 742 units).

Practitioner A: The Local Lettings Policy is one of the biggest achievements that we've made so far. We suggested it to the council, who not only took it on board but also now aims to expand it to other neighborhoods that are in a similar situation [in terms of development pressure]. Other community organizations are reaching out to us to learn from our experience, our success story, although the number of new developments needs to be sufficiently large enough to defend such a policy, for the council and the community to have leverage against the developers. … We don't want to be too parochial though, we're aware that new people might want to live in Lockleaze and social housing needs to be available for them too.

Practitioner B: As long as the houses are seen as investment products and not a place where people live, the [housing] crisis is never going to end. This is the real problem. Building more social rent units, owned by the council, is a good thing in my view, even at the expense of disruption.

The scale of the housing unaffordability problem extends beyond Lockleaze and its vicinity. Skyrocketing rents in Bristol mean the number of residents subject to inadequate housing is rising rapidly, while national-level austerity logics have caused local government budgets to become increasingly reliant on new land development schemes. The national discourse and policy support (e.g. Homes England) on solving the housing crisis primarily entails "building more" housing units, increased numbers of which are regarded as having a linear relationship with decreased homelessness. In short, ensuring housing security for all is painted as being reliant on *new* real estate development projects (rather than, say, city-wide rent control). As long as presumed investors see land and housing units as a secure financial asset with sufficient (or risk-worthy) monetary returns, however, the availability of housing stock is unlikely to match the needs of those who rely on public housing assistance.

In this context, BCC introduced a Land Disposal Policy in 2020 to address the consistent lack of assisted (or "permanently affordable") housing. Under the new policy, council-owned sites are distributed to community housing organizations and individual self-builder associations "in a fair, transparent way, that maximizes best consideration". The policy has generally been received positively by the public, with various neighborhood charities and associations coming forward with plans to develop permanently affordable housing. Currently, there are six new community-led housing projects underway, averaging about 20 units per project (totaling 119 new units).

In Lockleaze, a neighborhood organization is trying to build 24 social housing units on a council-owned site, in part as a response to increasing housing unaffordability for locals. Meanwhile, an adjacent site has been allocated to a group of individuals accentuating the community-oriented nature of their development. For many, secure housing is critical to their life-making. As such, the value of land as a site for "permanently affordable housing" may be prioritized over the value of land reserved for more temporary usages (e.g. for meanwhile occupiers). The ongoing debate surrounding the Land Disposal Policy touches on the issue of what is the "fairest" way of distributing the available land among exclusively "community-led" development proposals.

The LLP specifies that applying households must have either lived or worked in the area for more than two years, or be able to prove that they have kin living locally. Housing advocates in Lockleaze are therefore confronted with a difficult moral dilemma. On the one hand, working with the council on the LLP and Land Disposal Policy will bring tangible benefits to those with existing links to Lockleaze. On the other hand, this will exclude those who need social housing but are without evidentiary links to Lockleaze (e.g. the property guardians, who are considered transitory residents).

The process of community-led housing developments is, compared to those led by established housing associations or private developers, painfully lengthy and difficult. Even if a development proposal is chosen, securing a mortgage requires modifications to existing lending and insurance practices, which makes it difficult for applicants to meet the legal deadlines set by the city. As a result, there is a perceived sense of "justice" whenever a bureaucratic huddle is surmounted, despite the possibility that such "justice" may remain unavailable to those without the resources to participate in the land development game (e.g. meanwhile occupiers).

Development oppositions and meanwhile occupiers

This "more-than-local" issue of the housing crisis has bled into Lockleaze's everyday physical landscapes, with vacant lands and properties spatially appropriated by different groups. Concerning the former police station and its aforementioned "property guardians", for example, the pursuit of a more just situation entails the difficult question of who should count as "local".

The finalized regeneration plan for the northeast of Gainsborough Square encompasses both the Cameron Centre and the adjacent former police station. The latter is slated to be redeveloped as a community center and library, while the former will be replaced by a social housing building containing 37 rental units. Thus, although the property guardians face eviction, some local residents will benefit from the plan. Moreover, the situation cannot be detached from the processes pursued by residents trying to achieve a better situation. In the initial proposal, the community center was to disappear for good, which met with strong local opposition. Residents ran a "Save the Cameron Centre" campaign, which garnered 385 signatures: "The Cameron Centre is a place for people of all ages, faiths, interests and needs to come together. … Taking into consideration the vast housebuilding plans that are happening across this area more community spaces are now needed, not less."[4]

As a result of the campaign, the revised plan includes a community hall-space that can be rented for community-led activities (the initial plan envisaged the "community space" as consisting of just a library and café). Nevertheless, it remains uncertain as to whether this will be actualized. Negotiations regarding the terms and conditions of the new space's lease are ongoing, with the community organization (which manages the existing space in the Cameron Centre) arguing for a below-market rate and the council trying to gauge in monetary terms the community space's "social value" relative to the property's market value. The timeline of construction is another topic of contention: while the community organization is insisting on being given sufficient time to relocate to another space, the city is set on tearing down the two buildings at the earliest possibility opportunity.

Resident G: [Referring to the former police station] I've seen people coming and going. It is a temporary arrangement for people who can't afford elsewhere. They're quite discreet about their situation, but I heard they don't even have warm water or heating during winter. They'll have to leave, of course, for the new housing project. The council is eager for the Cameron Community Centre to relocate, but they won't be able to start construction until the [neighboring] police station gets knocked down. It seems they're having trouble doing this, it's become quite political.

Resident H: The truth of matter is that the [current Cameron Centre] building is so old and we can't get any service here right now. The main issue is the boiler, it's falling apart and way too old for anyone to fix it. The new space would be an upgrade, for sure, and the city thinks that they're doing us a favor. But the terms for the new lease [on the new space] are not right. Too expensive, too short. … For the last ten years they've been wanting to do this [i.e. tearing down the Cameron Centre], and people have been picketing against it. People love it here, so many memories and histories. They'd hate to see all of that disappear. There's going to be a media storm if the city doesn't handle this situation well.

Resident I: The city would steamroll anyone or anything in the way of development. That's what's happening here, and that's what's happening in the Dovercourt Road.

Here, the fact that construction has been stalled by the former police station situation "becoming political" works in favor of those community members who want the Cameron Centre building to remain as it is. In effect, delaying the development buys time for those who value and benefit from the existing built environment landscape – an outcome that could be considered a form of "justice". The property guardianship scheme has proven to be controversial in Bristol, especially since 2017, when two property guardians who refused to leave their site won a court case against the property guardian company (Cork 18 Jun 2017). In response, BCC announced that Bristol would be the first city to ban property guardian companies. From the council's perspective, their decision was aimed at preventing private companies from taking over vacant properties and turning them into a temporary housing business, with profit margins dictating how well property guardians are treated in terms of facilities and living conditions. The 2017 decision meant that, over the next few years, the city spent some £1.4 million demolishing empty council-owned buildings (17 remained at the time) that had become legal liabilities under the questionable stewardship of property guardian companies. The former police station in Lockleaze is one of the legacy buildings left over from this era, demonstrating how prickly ethical dilemmas and legal complications can obstruct capitalist logistics.

The Dovercourt Road development plan has also provoked opposition from 185 residents, who have submitted objections regarding, among other things, insufficient resident engagement (raised by 39 residents) and the lack of an independent environmental assessment (raised by 60 residents). Given that an environmental assessment is mandatory when a development exceeds 140 units, the fact that the planned development has exactly 140 units is viewed as a deliberate ploy.

Resident K: As a member of the Lockleaze Resident's Planning group I have followed this development since initial consultations with residents and I am appalled at how residents' views and voices have come to be sidelined. Despite being

> told at the beginning that this would be a "resident-led" process, this has clearly not been the case and residents' very real concerns over safety, access and traffic have been brushed aside. This is creating huge mistrust of the council and cynicism about the planning process in general. Lockleaze residents in general are not against the building of new homes. Many of us understand the pressing need for them. But houses alone don't make a thriving community and it is vitally important that housing is supported by the appropriate infrastructure, community facilities and resident engagement.
>
> Resident L: No environmental assessment has been carried out and with a city that is trying to push forward and lead from the front that is also introducing a clean air zone in the coming year, this is embarrassing to see. An independent impact assessment should be had considering the proximity to Purdown. This area is a wildlife corridor. … This housing development provides absolutely nothing to the local community. Lockleaze already has a huge lack of amenities, with the current infrastructure such as schools and shops not meeting high standards. This will further increase traffic because those in affordable housing will need to travel further to get to amenities. It would be useful to see some local benefit being added in to reduce this.

In general, most objections were made on the grounds of practical concern regarding issues affecting residents' everyday lives. One of the most pressing of these concerns access to the site, as a single narrow lane provides the only connecting path from the entrance of the development to the main road (Dovercourt Road). The main road is often busy and prone to accidents, and visibility at the junction with the lane is poor. As such, residents are worried that having at least 140 more vehicles using the single lane will only aggravate the situation.

More broadly, residents view BCC as taking a unilateral decision to "build more, and fast" without bothering to pursue any meaningful engagement processes (Donoghue 25 Jul 2022). The anticipated spatio-material consequences – the large number of new housing units; the density and height of the buildings; the pressure on already inadequate social infrastructure (local surgeries, schools, bus routes) – are justified by BCC on the grounds that Bristol needs new housing stock if it is to damp down an over-heated housing market. Counter-suggestions put forward by residents include improving the existing cycle path network, building fewer units and adding more publicly accessible green spaces within the site. Overall, residents want the development to proceed any a way that will materially improve their everyday lives. The existing plans, however, barely address any of the negotiation points raised.

By the same token, the wants of long-term residents do not necessarily accord with those of perceived "temporary" inhabitants, such as Traveller community residents who have been occupying the site. In the *Travellers' Times*, one of the former mobile home residents commented:

> The first thing they [i.e. the city] need to do is acknowledge us [i.e. Traveller community] as part of the community here in Bristol, the council treat us as if we are outcasts, that we are not part of society … They could let us stay here and we would thrive, the site could be turned into a beautiful thriving community space, we already built a communal kitchen, music studio, and workshop for vehicles in the outbuildings here, I'm really gutted to see it end.

Despite such differences, however, some local shop owners have remarked that locals have maintained a peaceful co-existence with the Traveller community (Freeman, 12

Oct 2023). Another former mobile home resident backs up this assertion in *The Corporate Watch*[5], reporting that the Traveller community has established positive relationships with people living nearby:

> Locals don't like the idea of a big housing development here either. They've appealed the planning application and have been very vocal in their support of us staying till any works start. However, the Traveller liaison officer has been unsuccessful in any attempt to arrange this with the council or Goram Homes [the council-owned housing developer] and we've been given notice to leave or face an enforced eviction.

As in the case of the Cameron Centre regeneration plan, contention around the Dovercourt Road development demonstrates that the physical presence of meanwhile occupiers can help reinforce local opposition to imposed neighborhood changes deemed unjust by many. In a way, the meanwhile occupiers' contribution to the politics of land in Bristol is significant, with their physical occupation of land and care for the space it provides playing an important part in how land is talked about and valued in Lockleaze (and beyond).

The phenomenon of mobile home ownership has become a topic of housing policy debate that goes beyond simply "building more", with a new policy report acknowledging the importance of adequately representing the aspirations of mobile home residents (Bristol City Council, 2024). Here, the vision put forward for an alternative mode of inhabitation has *cultural* significance in terms of, among other things, valorizing being closer to nature; the importance of autonomy; preserving cultural heritage; and rejecting a consumption-driven economy and culture. The resulting conversation calls for greater political voice to be given to mobile home resident associations, and for recognition of the value of "meanwhile spaces" as a critical policy resource in managing council-owned sites.

Discussion: temporalizing "justice" in urban regeneration

As Koopman (2009, p. 140) clarifies, the ethics of transitionalist pragmatist seek "not perfection as a final goal, but the ever-enduring process of perfecting" – the moral outcome of which can only be evaluated through engagement with the world as it exists in the present moment:

> Pragmatist perfectionists from Emerson and Baldwin to Cavell and James embody a conception of ethics that would turn us away from traditional preoccupations with monopolizing moral principles and toward the energetic efforts sustaining actual moral achievements. This turn is invited in part by the thought that ethical life is better approached as taking place under conditions of contingency and uncertainty than under conditions of necessity and certainty. (p. 144)

Adopting a transitionalist pragmatist approach involves the pursuit of two key initiatives often lacking in critical scholarship. Firstly, it is not only informative, but morally engaging, to understand a problematic situation from the diverse perspectives of social actors situated *in the middle* of a practice. Inevitably, these actors must take a gamble on how their actions today may impact their desired – and hopefully more ethically lived – future (Lake, 2021):

> We ought not flee from political reality in order to engage an ethical perspective, as both the rationalist and the dystopian do. Political reality itself affords us the very perspective from

> within which we might engage in the ethical work of political melioration. (Koopman, 2009, p. 153)

Secondly, given that the world around us constantly evolves in unexpected directions, it is imperative that our pregiven ideals remain open to modification – in other words, able to move beyond the purity of pre-existing morality and towards "integration" of ideals old and new. Paying attention to this temporal process – learning from past experiences while attending to anthropological accounts of how applying these lessons unfolds differently according to the situation – constitutes the "transitionalist" in transitionalist pragmatism.

The critical question often put to transitionalist pragmatists is how one can determine what is right or wrong about a situation. The answer, again, is to be found in our ongoing "*building up* … [of] political and ethical resources" (p. 154; emphasis added). Put another way, it depends on the extent to which our realizations (from prior attempts at applying past lessons to present practices) can ethically elevate our future practice. What temporalizing ethics and morality requires, then, is for situated social actors who are in the process of navigating difficult moral dilemmas to be given sufficient time-space. Through constant experimentation, discovery of our limitations and unearthing of better ways forward, we come to understand what works (and what doesn't) when attempting to materialize the ideals we subscribe to – whether this be distributive justice, epistemic justice or simply a more inclusive politics. This acknowledgement of time or temporal consciousness is needed precisely because moral achievements are not made by asserting politically perfect principles, but by engaging with the exigencies of present political realities.

In the context of urban regeneration, thinking about Lockleaze prompts three realizations that temporalize justice in ways that can inform future practice:

1. *Justice as a movement towards ameliorating situated life circumstances:* It is important to attend to local residents' needs and desires, which are born out of their everyday lived circumstances. A yearning for "nicer things", such as better schools or esthetically pleasing landscapes, especially in historically disinvested areas, should not be dismissed as morally inferior in scholarly examinations (Jon, 2024). The austerity logics prevalent in UK government over recent years have led to many residents of marginalized suburbs suffering from a lack of resources or opportunities with which to ameliorate their everyday conditions. In Lockleaze, neighborhood churches and local organizations are turning their own spaces or unoccupied properties into temporary cafés and libraries. Greater resources could be directed towards such resident-driven economic activities, which are already aligned with BCC's efforts to address uneven development.
2. *Justice as a process of determining the terms and conditions of new land developments:* While the LLP and Land Disposal Policy are politically imperfect, they nevertheless reflect the malleability of land commodification processes. In the process of agreeing the terms and conditions binding what a new-build will look like and/or what it will bring to the existing community, the unfolding shape of property-led regeneration can often be modified by resident-led initiatives (Levy et al., 2007). Furthermore, regeneration policies are not set in stone: while residents acknowledge the

limitations of what they have been able to achieve thus far, the ongoing political debate concerning Bristol's housing crisis in Bristol will likely inform new practices going forward.

3. *Justice as a performative politics of "buying time":* While delays in infrastructure "delivery" are often treated as a waste of resources, the flipside of this value-laden understanding is that such delays often represent a performative politics of buying time for those whose needs and desires are being steamrollered in the pursuit of "efficiency" (Harney & Moten, 2021). Restoring a temporal consciousness to ethics and justice turns our attention away from won/lost outcomes (in land justice) and towards the processes underlying the various battles of ideals fought in a specific time and place. In doing so, it highlights how particular groups may harvest material benefits as these processes play out, or alternatively succeed in raising public awareness on a previously neglected issue (Cowell & Thomas, 2002). Here, property guardians and Traveller communities are, through their physical presence, contributing to the available hermeneutic resources – in the form of media, public culture and policy debates – on what "vacant" land/properties are and what they can be in Lockleaze.

Conclusion

Given the current paradigm for addressing the UK's housing crisis is intimately bound up with the commodification of land, the question arises of what, exactly, "justice" in urban regeneration should look like? This paper has argued that exploring an empirical case allows us to temporalize justice in ways that have considerable bearing for future practice. Firstly, the accounts of locals advocating for better schools and "nicer things" in Lockleaze demonstrate that justice in urban regeneration, especially in the historically disinvested neighborhoods, entails ameliorating situated life circumstances in ways that make a tangible difference to residents' everyday lives. Second, existing policy mediations such as Bristol's LLP and Land Disposal Policy substantiate that justice is a process of learning from politically imperfect practices, with local residents and practitioners actively negotiating the terms and conditions of new land developments. Rather than simply decrying the moral impurity of such policy mediations, it is more useful to regard them as temporal processes towards more just situations. Finally, the fact that resident-driven opposition to urban development is able to draw on the presence of meanwhile occupiers as a political resource shows how justice can take the form of a performative politics of buying time, during which alternative – or hermeneutically marginalized – ideas on how land may best be used are made visible and debated.

As of July 2024, all three developments mentioned in this paper – Bonnington Walk, the Cameron Centre and the Dovercourt Road depot – remain politically contentious, with their construction dates subject to repeated delays. For transitionalist pragmatists, this "inertia" is an expression of how justice is a dynamic subject constituted by human effort (Lake, 2017). Against this backdrop, the paper has attempted to understand "justice" in terms of time-weighted practices, with situated social agents viewed as *in the middle* of pursuing more just situations. While it is easy to make abstract assumptions about the role of government or planning practitioners, the reality is that "doing what's right" often requires politically imperfect (or morally impure) practices capable

of balancing existing ideals with those formed in response to emergent problematic situations (Wolf-Powers, 2022). Thus, although it is easy to accuse certain neighborhoods of "being selfish" for not welcoming new builds, a more morally engaging response is to try and understand what it is residents regard as problematic at a given moment in time and, moreover, how they wish to address the issue. In this way, scholarly investigations into urban regeneration can – through placing the "liveliness" of a territory at the center of their analyses – think with and beyond already-existing paradigms of justice (Blomley, 2020; Roy, 2015). Doing so requires attending not only to the geographical expansiveness of problematic situations, but the chronologically plural character of how moral dilemmas emerge and are responded to.

In light of the above, this paper calls for a transitionalist perspective to be applied to urban regeneration research on social (in)justice. Here, the transitionalist pragmatist insistence on "justice as a practice of long durée" should be understood in the context of its underlying process philosophy, whereby changes in our social reality – as well as the actions of the people within it – occur in time. This has emancipatory implications for land justice politics as, by assuming the inherent malleability of land commodification, it requires attention be paid to the plural ways in which urban regeneration plays out on the ground. In this way, we can draw valuable lessons for future practice through asking what works and what doesn't, and in the latter case asking how the identified limitations can be addressed going forward. Allowing the social actors and other parties involved sufficient time–space – before making an adjudication on what is or isn't just – allows us to dig beneath the seeming "inertia"[6]: the dynamic, ever-emergent, practices of negotiation and contestation in our everyday struggle toward how to live more ethically, together, in the face of difference and uncertainty.

Notes

1. Source: Office for National Statistics, Census 2021. https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoiZmFmZjYyODQtZDU3MS00MTkyLWFjMTAtZjRlOGU5Y2FiYjQ5IiwidCI6IjYzNzhhN2E1LTBmMjEtNDQ4Mi1hZWUwLTg5N2ViN2RlMzMxZiJ9 (Lockleaze – Household Tenure).
2. Information available at: https://www.homechoicebristol.co.uk/AverageWaitingTime/Results?AverageWaitingTimePeriods=180&Sender=NavigationBarPanel&_=1676907795958#map-link-37.
3. This is equally evidenced in the 2019 National Deprivation Deciles by Lower Layer Super Output Area, accessible at: https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrIjoiZmFmZjYyODQtZDU3MS00MTkyLWFjMTAtZjRlOGU5Y2FiYjQ5IiwidCI6IjYzNzhhN2E1LTBmMjEtNDQ4Mi1hZWUwLTg5N2ViN2RlMzMxZiJ9 (Lockleaze – Deprivation).
4. Online petition against the Cameron centre regeneration: https://you.38degrees.org.uk/petitions/save-the-cameron-centre.
5. https://corporatewatch.org/bristol-city-council-goram-homes-forcing-traveller-evictions/.
6. As Koopman (2009, p. 108) put it: "Inertia, as it turns out, goes quite a long way in keeping everything moving forward, and the credit invested in the future by the past propels the present ever forward."

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the peer reviewers and Robert Lake for their extremely helpful comments on previous drafts. All remaining errors are solely the responsibility of the author.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author, IJ, upon reasonable request.

ORCID

Ihnji Jon http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3812-8168

References

Allen, John. (2008). Pragmatism and power, or the power to make a difference in a radically contingent world. *Geoforum; Journal of Physical, Human, and Regional Geosciences*, *39*(4), 1613–1624. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2007.06.004

Atkinson, Rowland. (2015). Losing one's place: Narratives of neighbourhood change, market injustice and symbolic displacement. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *32*(4), 373–388. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2015.1053980

Barbero, Iker. (2015). When rights need to be (re) claimed: Austerity measures, neoliberal housing policies and anti-eviction activism in Spain. *Critical Social Policy*, *35*(2), 270–280. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018314564036

Barker, Joanne. (2018). Territory as analytic: The dispossession of Lenapehoking and the subprime crisis. *Social Text*, *36*(2), 19–39. https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-4362337

Barnett, Clive. (2018). *The priority of injustice*. University of Georgia Press.

Baxter, Richard, & Brickell, Katherine. (2014). For home unmaking. *Home Cultures*, *11*(2), 133–143. https://doi.org/10.2752/175174214X13891916944553

Bell, Karen. (2008). Achieving environmental justice in the United Kingdom: A case study of Lockleaze, Bristol. *Environmental Justice*, *1*(4), 203–210. https://doi.org/10.1089/env.2008.0527

Bell, Karen, & Sweeting, David. (2013). Waste collection as an environmental justice issue: A case study of a neighbourhood in Bristol, UK. In M. J. Zapata, & M. Hall (Eds.), *Organising waste in the city* (pp. 201–222). Policy Press.

Blomley, Nicholas. (2016). The territory of property. *Progress in Human Geography*, *40*(5), 593–609. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132515596380

Blomley, Nicholas. (2020). Precarious territory: Property law, housing, and the socio-spatial order. *Antipode*, *52*(1), 36–57. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12578

Brickell, Katherine. (2014). The whole world is watching": Intimate geopolitics of forced eviction and women's activism in Cambodia. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *104*(6), 1256–1272. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.944452

Brickell, Katherine, Fernandez, Melissa., & Vasudevan, Alex. (Eds.). (2017). *Geographies of forced eviction: Dispossession, violence, resistance*. Palgrave.

Bristol City Council. (2024). *Vehicle dwellers: The Bristol model*. https://democracy.bristol.gov.uk/documents/s94831/Appendix%20A%20-%20Vehicle%20Dwellers%20-%20The%20Bristol%20Model%20-%20Final.pdf.

Connett, Jess. (2021). Be open about developments. *The Bristol Cable*, April 22. https://thebristolcable.org/2021/04/be-open-about-developments-housing-could-be-the-issue-that-sways-the-election-in-lockleaze/.

Cork, Tristan. (2017). Bristol council to become first in UK to ban property guardian companies. *Bristol Live*, June 18. https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/bristol-council-become-first-uk-117026#.

Cork, Tristan. (2023). Uncertain future for 100 van-dwellers after council eviction from development site. *Bristol Live*, October 10. https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/uncertain-future-100-van-dwellers-8817669.
Cowell, Richard, & Thomas, Huw. (2002). Managing nature and narratives of dispossession: Reclaiming territory in Cardiff Bay. *Urban Studies*, *39*(7), 1241–1260. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980220135581
Cruikshank, Barbara. (1999). *The will to empower: Democratic citizens and other subjects*. Cornell University press.
Donoghue, J. J. (2022). Council-owned developer accused of 'underhand tactics' over 140- home scheme. *Bristol Live*, July 25. https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/council-owned-developer-accused-underhand-7368115.
Elliott-Cooper, A., Hubbard, P., & Lees, L. (2020). Moving beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, displacement and the violence of un-homing. *Progress in Human Geography*, *44*(3), 492–509. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132519830511
Ferreri, Mara, Dawson, Gloria, & Vasudevan, Alexander. (2017). Living precariously: Property guardianship and the flexible city. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *42*(2), 246–259. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12162
Freeman, Faye. (2023). "Winter is coming and we will have to be roadside again" – Bristol Traveller site eviction. *Travellers' Times*, October 12. https://www.travellerstimes.org.uk/index.php/news/2023/10/winter-coming-and-we-will-have-be-roadside-again-bristol-traveller-site-eviction.
Fricker, Miranda. (2007). *Epistemic injustice*. Oxford University Press.
Ghertner, D. Asher, & Lake, Robert W. (Eds.). (2021). *Land fictions: The commodification of land in city and country*. Cornell University Press.
Gorman-Murray, Andrew, McKinnon, Scott, & Dominey-Howes, Dale. (2014). Queer domicide: LGBT displacement and home loss in natural disaster impact, response, and recovery. *Home Cultures*, *11*(2), 237–261. https://doi.org/10.2752/175174214X13891916944751
Harney, Stefano, & Moten, Fred. (2021). *All incomplete*. Minor Compositions.
Imbroscio, David. (2004). Can we grant a right to place? *Politics & Society*, *32*(4), 575–609. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329204269981
Jon, Ihnji. (2024). Reassembling the politics of "Green" urban redevelopment in East Garfield Park: A Polanyian approach. *Environment and Planning A*, *56*(4), 1005–1023. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X231221019
Kohn, Margaret. (2016). The right to life and shelter in homegrown neighborhoods. In M. Kohn (Ed.), *The death and life of the urban commonwealth* (pp. 32–58). Oxford University Press.
Koopman, Colin. (2009). *Pragmatism as transition*. Columbia University Press.
Lake, Robert W. (1996). Volunteers, NIMBYs, and environmental justice: Dilemmas of democratic practice. *Antipode*, *28*(2), 160–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.1996.tb00520.x
Lake, Robert W. (2016). Justice as subject and object of planning. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *40*(6), 1205–1220. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12442
Lake, Robert W. (2017). Locating the social in social justice. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, *108*(2), 337–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1374827
Lake, Robert W. (2021). Where materiality meets subjectivity: Locating the political in the contested fiction of urban land in Camden, New Jersey. In D. A. Ghertner, & R. W. Lake (Eds.), *Land fictions* (pp. 224–242). Cornell University Press.
Lake, Robert W. (2024). Value magic. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *56*(6), 1841–1858. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X231154254
Lees, Loretta. (2014). The urban injustices of new labour's "New urban renewal": The case of the Aylesbury estate in London. *Antipode*, *46*(4), 921–947. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12020
Levy, Diane, Comey, Jennifer, & Padilla, Sandra. (2007). In the face of gentrification: Case studies of local efforts to mitigate displacement. *Journal of Affordable Housing and Community Development Law*, *16*(3), 238–315.
Li, Tania M. (2014). What is land? Assembling a resource for global investment. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *39*(4), 589–602. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12065

Livingston, James. (2001). *Pragmatism, feminism, and democracy*. Routledge.
Lockleaze Neighbourhood Trust. (2019). *Our Lockleaze: Lockleaze Community Plan 2019*-2024. https://www.lockleazehub.org.uk/our-lockleaze.
MacLeavy, Julie. (2024). Neighbourhood regeneration through a longitudinal lens: Exploring crisis temporalities in Bristol, UK. *Area*, *56*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12895
Manning, Erin. (2016). *The minor gesture*. Duke University Press.
Newman, Kathe, & Wyly, Elvin. (2006). The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York city. *Urban Studies*, *43*(1), 23–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500388710
O'Callaghan, Cian. (2024). Vacancy as precarious property in Dublin's temporary urbanism moment. *Antipode*, *56*(4), 1399–1418. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.13017
Postans, Adam. (2022). Bristol City Council approves compulsory purchase of fire-ravaged pub–again. *Bristol Live*, May 18. https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/bristol-city-council-approves-compulsory-7099314.
Roy, Ananya. (2015). The aporias of poverty. In A. Roy, & E. S. Crane (Eds.), *Territories of poverty* (pp. 1–35). Georgia University Press.
Shimell, Emily. (2021). Lockleaze residents fight to save community centre. *Bristol24/7*, May 25. https://www.bristol247.com/news-and-features/features/lockleaze-residents-fight-to-save-community-centre-set-to-be-demolished-for-housing/.
Vasudevan, Alexander. (2015). The makeshift city: Toward a global geography of squatting. *Progress in Human Geography*, *39*(3), 338–359. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132514531471
Wolf-Powers, Laura. (2022). *University city*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
Wright, Willie J., & Herman, Cameron K. (2018). No "blank canvas": Public art and gentrification in Houston's third ward. *City & Society*, *30*(1), 89–116. https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12156
Zhang, Y. (2018). Domicide, social suffering and symbolic violence in contemporary Shanghai, China. *Urban Geography*, *39*(2), 190–213. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2017.1298978